

THE MILITANT

INSIDE

**Librarians answer smears
against Cuban government**

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A SOCIALIST NEWSWEEKLY PUBLISHED IN THE INTERESTS OF WORKING PEOPLE

VOL. 70/NO. 23 JUNE 19, 2006

Organize the mines! New safety laws have no meaning without a UMWA local at every mine



Militant/Argiris Malapanis

Darby Creek mine, owned by Lone Mountain Processing, in Harlan County, Kentucky, near Kentucky Darby Mine No. 1, where five miners (pictured below) were killed May 20. A sixth miner was rescued by team that included workers from Lone Mountain.



Amon Brock Jimmy Lee Roy Middleton George Petra Paris Thomas Jr.

The new mine safety bill the U.S. Senate just passed, and any other improved version of such legislation that may be put into effect, will have zero meaning for workers. It will not stop the death toll among coal miners from rising. *Unless* a movement of working people fights to organize the mines, putting into the hands of the miners themselves the ability to

EDITORIAL

decide all job safety questions. *Unless* miners get the only effective tool they can use to enforce safety: a local of the United Mine of Workers of America (UMWA) in every single mine.

We made the same point in last week's lead editorial. It has only become more urgent as capitalist politicians wag their finger at the mine owners while promising better rules, as they do after every disaster, until it disappears from the headlines. Their aim is to disorient working people. Lean on federal and

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Senate passes mine safety bill after deaths of Kentucky miners

BY SAM MANUEL

WASHINGTON—In the aftermath of the recent deaths of seven coal miners on the job in Kentucky and West Virginia, the U.S. Senate passed a bill that is supposed to strengthen safety regulations in the mines. The legislation would require mine owners to provide miners with breathing devices that can supply two hours of oxygen instead of the current one hour, and to use stronger materials to seal off abandoned sections of mines where explosive gases can accumulate.

Meanwhile, Kentucky governor Ernest Fletcher has turned down a request by two widows of miners who died in Harlan

County to allow their representatives to observe the state investigation of the May 20 fatal blast at the Kentucky Darby Mine No. 1. The two women are represented by attorney Tony Oppegard and United Mine Workers of America (UMWA) safety official Kenny Johnson.

The new Senate bill comes in response to the outcry by miners and their families against inadequate company safety measures.

According to a Harlan County coroner's report, three of the workers at the Kentucky Darby mine survived the explosion but subsequently died from

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Stripping deputy of citizenship causes uproar in Netherlands

BY PAUL PEDERSON

On May 15, Dutch immigration minister Rita Verdonk revoked the citizenship of a fellow member of parliament for slightly altering her name when applying for asylum in 1992 and for citizenship in 1997. The move, part of a chauvinist campaign by the Dutch government to tighten restrictions on immigration, caused a political firestorm in the Netherlands. The country's prime minister

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Protests erupt in Afghanistan against U.S. troops

BY ARRIN HAWKINS

Protests erupted in Kabul May 29 against the U.S. and NATO occupation forces and the U.S.-allied Afghan government. Afghan army and police units, aided by U.S. forces, were deployed throughout the city in response.

The demonstrations by more than 1,000 people in Afghanistan's capital were triggered when a U.S. Army vehicle, traveling as part of a convoy, caused a 12-car pile-up that left five people dead, an

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Minnesota union officer: 'I salute victory of Co-Op miners'

BY NELSON GONZALEZ

ST. PAUL, Minnesota—"I want to salute you on your victory," said Bernie Hesse, legislative director of United Food and Commercial Workers (UFCW) Local 789. He was speaking at a May 27 Militant Labor Forum here celebrating the recent victory in a two-and-a-half-year battle against C.W. Mining Co., owner of the Co-Op mine in Huntington, Utah.

"We're ready to get the word out about this important victory and what workers can accomplish when we don't let the bosses divide us and when we stick together," Hesse said.

The UFCW officer was referring to a recent settlement that ends the retaliatory lawsuit filed by C.W. Mining in

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U.S. Senate approves new immigration bill

BY BRIAN WILLIAMS

After months of debate, the U.S. Senate passed a new immigration bill May 25. It includes a temporary worker program, provisions allowing many undocumented immigrants living in the United States to obtain over time permanent residency under certain conditions, and increased border policing operations.

The 300-page bill had bipartisan support, with 38 Democrats and 23 Republicans voting for it. Its passage in a 62-36 vote sets the stage for negotiations between the Senate and House of Representatives toward a joint measure. Last December, the House approved a bill sponsored by Rep. James Sensenbrenner that would make it a felony for anyone to be in the United States without proper documents. It would also make "aiding" or "counseling" an undocumented immigrant a felony. No such provisions are contained in the Senate bill.

"This is a very difficult issue," House

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Get 'Militant' around to miners, other workers! On to 3,000 subscriptions!
Appeal by the editor to 'Militant' readers

Dear Reader,

Join us in circulating widely the last two issues of the *Militant* and winning another 650 subscribers over the next week. Join us in reaching for the goal of signing up 3,000 new readers by June 7!

It is a necessary response to the latest spike in the number of deaths of coal miners. A response that many working people react to eagerly. Here are a few examples.

"Three supporters of the *Militant* sold 79 copies and 7 subscriptions to the paper this afternoon to miners and other working people in Harlan County, Kentucky, along State Route 38, which is dotted with mine after mine, including the Darby Mine where five workers were killed last week," said Sam Manuel, the *Militant's* Washington correspondent, in a May 26 note

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Dutch MP stripped of citizenship

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intervened, ordering that the citizenship of Ayaan Hirsi Ali be restored.

Hirsi Ali, who is originally from Somalia, is a member of Verdonk’s party, the People’s Party for Freedom and Democracy (VVD). She immigrated to the Netherlands in 1992. When she applied for asylum, and later for citizenship, she said she was fleeing the civil war in that country, instead of seeking to avoid a forced marriage to a stranger. She also did not use her father’s name, Magan.

“I was frightened that if I simply said I was fleeing a forced marriage, I would be sent back to my family,” Hirsi Ali told parliament May 16. “And I was frightened that if I gave my real name, my clan would hunt me down and find me.” In the past, she had explained several times in public why she had changed her name in seeking political asylum in the Netherlands.

Under increasing pressure within her party, Verdonk agreed to review the decision after the Dutch parliament voted to ask her to restore Hirsi Ali’s citizenship and the prime minister ordered her to do so on May 18. Two days earlier, Hirsi Ali announced her resignation from parliament and said she would move to the United States to take a job at the American Enterprise Institute, a position she had been offered earlier.

Immigration to the Netherlands, which maintains direct colonies today in the Antilles and Aruba, has increased over the past 20 years, as it has to other imperialist countries.

According to data compiled from census and other government surveys by the Migration Information Source, there were 1,350 asylum applications in the Netherlands in 1980 compared with 32,579 in 2001. From 1996 to 2003 the foreign-born residents grew from 8.2 percent to 10.6 percent of the country’s

overall population. Immigrants from Turkey, Suriname, Morocco, Indonesia, and the Antilles are among the largest groups.

Verdonk is one of the authors of a plan, approved in 2004, to expel some 26,000 immigrants whose petitions for asylum had been rejected by the Dutch government. A former prison warden known as “Iron Rita,” she has made a name for herself by tightening restrictions on immigration and stepping up deportations.

A racist campaign directed largely against Muslims has accompanied this drive. In opposing the entry of Turkey into the European Union (EU) in 2004, for example, VVD party leader Frits Bolkestein, then the European Union internal market commissioner, said that if Turkey entered the EU, “the liberation of Vienna in 1683 would have been in vain.” Bolkestein was referring to the defeat of Ottoman Turk forces in Vienna some four centuries ago by Polish and Austrian armies.

Hirsi Ali joined the VVD in 2003, to become the party’s spokesperson for



AFP/Getty Images/Vincent Jannink

Dutch deputy Hirsi Ali (left) announces May 16 she is resigning from parliament and moving to the United States following the revocation of her Dutch citizenship.

“the emancipation of women and the integration of immigrants,” as she put it in her May 16 speech to parliament. She collaborated with Dutch filmmaker Theo Van Gogh on the movie *Submission*, which was critical of “Islamist” groups and, in particular, the treatment of Muslim women. Van Gogh was murdered in 2004 and Ali increasingly became a

target of radical Islamist groups. Prior to being stripped of her Dutch citizenship, she lost a battle with residents at the apartment complex where she was housed under police protection. Some of her neighbors complained that the threats against her life made their living quarters dangerous. A court ordered Hirsi Ali’s eviction in April from that complex.

U.S. policy in Korean War: shoot approaching refugees

BY MICHAEL ITALIE

Contrary to their repeated denials, officials at the highest levels in Washington during the Korean War were aware of the military’s policy of shooting Korean refugees approaching U.S. lines. This fact has been confirmed as the result of the recent publication of a July 26, 1950, letter from John Muccio, U.S. ambassador to Korea, to Assistant Secretary of State Dean Rusk, which the AP published May 29.

“Leaflet drops will be made north of U.S. lines” to ward off the movement of those fleeing south from the fighting, Muccio wrote Rusk on the day of a mass killing by U.S. forces at No Gun

Ri, south Korea. “If refugees do appear north of U.S. lines they will receive warning shots, and if they then persist in advancing they will be shot.”

For 50 years U.S. officials had rejected claims that the shooting down of Korean refugees had ever occurred. Then a 1999 Associated Press report, based on interviews with U.S. veterans of the 1950–53 Korean War, exposed the massacre of hundreds at No Gun Ri.

Residents of the village fleeing the war zone were ordered by U.S. Army officers to walk on railroad tracks, and then were attacked by warplanes. Survivors scrambled for cover under a railroad bridge. Then for three nights and four days, July 26–29, U.S. troops fired into the tunnel where the peasants were trying to hide from the air bombardment. A U.S. investigation into No Gun Ri found no “written orders” to kill civilians. President William Clinton in January 2001 dismissed the brutal killings as an “incident...a painful reminder of the tragedies of war.” Washington refused to either apologize to the survivors or offer financial compensation.

Since 1999 south Koreans have issued complaints with the government in Seoul about 60 more U.S. killings of refugees during the war, AP reported May 30. The news agency said its research “uncovered at least 19 declassified U.S. military documents showing commanders ordered or authorized such killings in 1950–51.”

During the war U.S. forces also conducted saturation bombing, especially of northern cities, factories, and mines. They dropped more than 400,000 bombs on the city of Pyongyang alone, and used 717 million pounds of napalm on the population.

Muccio sent Rusk his confidential letter in 1950 because he wanted to prepare the State Department for “the possibility of repercussions in the United States” should the facts about the firing on refugees come to light. More than half a century after the letter and the massacre, Chung Koo Do, a leader of the No Gun Ri survivors group, said that continued U.S. Army denial of the planned shooting of refugees is a “deception of No Gun Ri victims and of U.S. citizens who value human rights.”

THE MILITANT

‘A great source for working people’

“I have been reading the ‘Militant’ since the Firestone strike in 1995. It is a great source for working people looking for a way forward in the struggle. I highly recommend it.”

—Bob Allen
Des Moines, Iowa



Bob Allen is a rail worker and member of the United Transportation Union.

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Signed articles by contributors do not necessarily represent the Militant’s views. These are expressed in editorials.

Australian troops intervene in E. Timor

BY BOB AIKEN

SYDNEY, Australia—The federal government here announced a new military intervention into Timor Leste (formerly East Timor) May 25. Australian prime minister John Howard said the operation is to restore “stability and normality” in the neighboring Pacific island nation in face of an escalating governmental crisis there. “The country has not been well governed,” he declared.

An advance party of 130 Australian commandos took control of the airport in the capital city of Dili. They were joined by troops from New Zealand and Malaysia. “We will be disarming everybody in Dili,” Australian force commander Brig. Gen. Mick Slater said May 28.

Faced with a rebellion by sections of Timor Leste’s army and police, President Xanana Gusmao and Prime Minister Mari Alkatiri requested the intervention May 24. With Australian forces on stand-by since early in the month, Howard said he was not going to wait for “three of four signatures on a bit of paper” before sending in troops. Opposition Labor Party leader Kim Beazley backed Howard’s decision to “pacify the situation in Timor.”

Dubbed Operation Astute, the military force includes 1,300 Australian ground troops and seven Australian navy warships. The New Zealand government is sending 166 soldiers, while the Malaysian regime has offered 500. The Portuguese government has promised 120 military police. Some 30–40 U.S. Marines have also landed in Dili to “protect the U.S. embassy,” according to Reuters.”

Colonial legacy

East Timor was a colony of Portugal until 1975. It was then occupied by Indonesia, in spite of ongoing resistance by the East Timorese people. In 1999 Australian troops led a force under the United Nations flag, which replaced Indonesian forces. Independence was won in 2002.

The newly independent country faced a deep social crisis that has not abated. Some 40 percent of its 1 million people live below the official poverty line. With few jobs outside the government, about half the population is unemployed. Only 11 percent of homes in the countryside have electricity. A Human Rights Watch report released in April described widespread police brutality.

Substantial revenues from oil and gas fields in the Timor Sea are slated

for the Timor Leste government in a treaty signed with the Australian rulers in January. The accord, however, left in place maritime boundaries that give Australia’s capitalists the lion’s share of the deposits.

Reflecting factionalism within Timor’s government itself, Alkatiri, the prime minister, has reportedly accused Gusmao, the president, of trying to oust him. Gusmao and Foreign Minister Jose Ramos Horta have criticized Alkatiri’s handling of the crisis.

In February a mutiny by sections of the military erupted over conditions in the armed forces and claims of regional discrimination over promotions. The Alkatiri government responded by sacking almost 600 soldiers out of the army of 1,500. Five people were killed when government forces fired on an April 28 protest rally in Dili by the dismissed troops and their supporters. The rebellious soldiers reportedly retreated, fully armed, into the hills around Dili, where they were subsequently joined by sections of the police.

Despite attempts led by President Gusmao to broker a peace settlement with the rebel forces, tensions deepened



AFP/Getty Images/ Candido Alves

Australian troops deployed in Dili, the capital of East Timor, in May. The Australian military force in that Pacific island nation includes 1,300 ground troops and seven navy warships.

after Alkatiri won the backing May 19 of a conference of the ruling party, Fretilin, to remain prime minister. Rebel troops began launching attacks on Dili, including burning the house of the army commander. Forces loyal to the government responded with their own attacks, including burning houses owned by the minister of the interior and deputy police commissioner, whom they accused of supporting the rebellion.

The bloodiest incident took place May 25. Troops loyal to the government killed a number of police officers and wounded more than 25 in a firefight that day at

the police headquarters in Dili. Most of the police were reportedly shot as they surrendered in a deal brokered by United Nations forces. The government of Australia then dispatched 50 federal cops to Dili to take over police functions.

Australian foreign minister Alexander Downer says the military intervention will last at least a year, until elections scheduled for May 2007 take place in Timor Leste. The Howard government now has deployed some 3,600 troops abroad—in Iraq, Afghanistan, and the Solomon Islands, as well as Timor Leste.

Protests erupt in Afghanistan against U.S. troops

Continued from front page

Afghan government spokesman said, according to the London *Financial Times*. It is not clear how many were killed in the auto accident and how many died in the shooting that followed as a crowd gathered at the scene of the crash and soldiers and police met them with gunfire.

“Afghans often complain about what they call the aggressive driving tactics of the U.S. military,” the Associated Press reported May 30. The dispatch quoted 21-year-old shopkeeper Mohammad Wali, who witnessed the crash, saying, “The American convoy hit all the vehicles that were on the way. They didn’t care about civilians at all.”

The U.S. military said in a statement that a brake failure on one of its trucks caused the pile-up.

The confrontations, the worst in the capital since the U.S.-led overthrow of the Taliban regime in 2001, left an estimated 16 dead and 142 wounded, according to the *Financial Times*. The headquarters of several foreign “aid” agencies, a luxury hotel, and a

municipal government building with a portrait of Afghan president Hamid Karzai covering an entire wall were among the structures heavily damaged during the protests.

The demonstrations came on the heels of intense fighting between units loyal to the former Taliban regime and the U.S.-led force of more than 30,000 troops in the country that left more than 350 dead the last half of May.

On May 29, U.S. military officials told the press they have decided to deploy a 3,500-member armored brigade, which had been in reserve in Kuwait, to western Iraq near its 300-mile border with Syria. U.S. military officials say they are beefing up their forces in the Anbar province to push back increasingly effective assaults by elements loyal to the deposed Baath Party regime of Saddam Hussein and their supporters.

According to the May 30 *Washington Post*, 11 tribal leaders have been assassinated in the area since the end of last year for collaborating with the U.S.-led coalition forces. Another indirect target of the move is the government of Syria, which the *Post* described as “a conduit for some of the weapons, money and fighters” that U.S. forces encounter there.

Meanwhile, according to witnesses, press reports, and statements by U.S. congressmen briefed on the incident, U.S. Marines indiscriminately killed 24 civilians following the explosion of a roadside bomb that killed a Marine lance corporal on Nov. 19, 2005, at the town of Haditha in western Iraq. “It could be the most gruesome massacre since Vietnam’s Mai Lai killings,” reported the June 5 *Army Times*, a Pentagon weekly.

According to accounts published in *Time* magazine and the *Washington Post*, following the explosion a squad of U.S. Marines burst into three homes along the street and began killing the

inhabitants, ranging in age from 1 to 76. They then opened fire on a taxi that happened to turn onto the street, killing four college students and the taxi driver.

The day after the events the Marines released their version of the story. “A U.S. Marine and 15 civilians were killed yesterday from the blast of a roadside bomb in Haditha,” said a November 20 report from a Marine spokesperson. “Immediately following the bombing, gunmen attacked the convoy with small arms fire. Iraqi army soldiers and Marines returned fire, killing eight insurgents and wounding another.”

Sen. John Warner, a Republican from Virginia who is head of the Senate Armed Services Committee, said the briefings on the incident include “very, very serious allegations, and there have been facts to substantiate the case to underpin those allegations.” Rep. John Murtha, a Pennsylvania Democrat who was also briefed on the events in Haditha, said, “Marines overreacted...and killed innocent civilians in cold blood.”

—MILITANT LABOR FORUMS—

ALABAMA

Birmingham

“Harlan County”: Documentary Film of 1973 United Mine Workers of America Strike at Brookside Mine in Harlan County, Kentucky. Fri., June 9, 7:30 p.m. 3029A Bessemer Rd. Tel.: (205) 780-0021.

MINNESOTA

St. Paul

No U.S. Intervention in Sudan. Fri., June 9, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$5. 113 Bernard E. Tel.: (651) 644-6325.

NEW YORK

Manhattan

U.S. Hands Off Iran! Unfolding Politics in Iran Today. Speaker: Ma’mud Shirvani. Fri., June 9. Dinner, 7:00 p.m.; program, 8:00 p.m. Donation: \$5 dinner, \$5 program. 307 W. 36th St. 10 Floor. (near 8th Ave.; take north set of elevators) Tel.: (212) 629-6649.

PENNSYLVANIA

Pittsburgh

The Continuing Fight for Mine Safety and Unionization: An Eyewitness Reportback from Harlan County, Kentucky, Accident That Killed Five Miners. Speaker: Ved Dookhun. Fri., June 9, 7:30 p.m. Donation: \$4. 5907 Penn Ave., Suite 225. Tel: (412) 365-1090.

WASHINGTON, D.C.

No Miner Has to Die: Organize and Build the Union. Speakers: Sam Manuel, *Militant* reporting team to Harlan County, Kentucky; Doug Nelson, Socialist Workers Party. Sat., June 3. 3717-B Georgia Ave. NW Tel.: (202) 536-5080.

NEW ZEALAND

Christchurch

Celebrate Utah Miners’ Victory in Dropping of Co-Op Mine Lawsuit. Fri., June 9, 7:00 p.m. 287 Selwyn St., Spreydon. Tel: 03 9303373.

‘Militant’ publication schedule

This is a two-week issue. The *Militant* will publish biweekly in June to allow editorial volunteers to pitch in during the final push of the *Militant* circulation drive, take part in upcoming sales teams to coal regions, and attend the June 15–17 convention of the Socialist Workers Party in Oberlin, Ohio. Issue no. 24 will be published on June 14. Issue no. 25 will be published on June 29. We will resume our weekly schedule in July.

Co-Op miners’ victory

Continued from front page
2004 against 16 former Co-Op miners, the United Mine Workers of America (UMWA), other supporters of the struggle to win UMWA representation at that mine, and newspapers that had reported on the struggle. In the settlement the company agreed to drop its defamation suit against all the remaining defendants—the UMWA, the *Militant* newspaper, and Utah Jobs with Justice. The agreement also released all defendants included by the company in two earlier complaints. Six of the miners involved in the union-organizing campaign were awarded back pay.

Local 789’s support for the Co-Op miners grew out of the local’s fight for a union at Dakota Premium Foods, a packing plant in South St. Paul, Hesse said.

“Many of you here in this room were involved in the fight by Dakota Premium workers for a union,” Hesse said. “Workers shut down the lines, and did other things to get a union. Though it took several years, during which the company also dragged us through the courts and the National Labor Relations Board (NLRB), the workers finally won.

“They didn’t wear us down,” Hesse continued. “It was through this inspiring fight, where you could see workers taking ownership of their struggle, that relationships were built among each other that led right to taking on and supporting the Co-Op workers.

“So my question is, what is next?” he said. “We’ve got to keep this victory fresh, and use it to move forward.”

“The miners set back the coal bosses in the region and their attempts to go after

workers who want to organize a union,” Bill Estrada, a leader of the union-organizing drive at Co-Op who was the featured speaker at the forum, said in his opening remarks.

“Safety was one of the main reasons Co-Op miners contacted the UMWA,” Estrada said. “Our experience showed mine inspectors did little more than give the company a slap on the wrist when we pointed out unsafe conditions. We learned we had to rely on ourselves and not on more laws or government agencies. This is exactly the same serious question before all miners and the union today.”

Estrada pointed to the deaths of seven coal miners in Kentucky and West Virginia the last week of May, saying, “This shows how big a question safety is for miners and all workers. There is only one way to stop the deaths in the mines—through union power. We need union safety committees that have the power to shut down an unsafe mine. No miner has to die.”

Estrada reviewed the key turning points in the campaign for UMWA representation at Co-Op, which began in September 2003.

After a hard-fought 10-month strike, during which the miners won widespread solidarity in the United States and other countries, the company was forced to offer reinstatement to UMWA supporters it had dismissed and schedule a union representation election.

The mine bosses and the company-allied International Association of United Workers Union (IAUWU) filed a defamation lawsuit against the individual miners, the UMWA, and many of their supporters in September 2004, Estrada explained. On the eve of the union representation election, the coal company fired 30 pro-union workers, claiming most didn’t have papers that allowed them to work legally in the United States.



Militant/Tom Baumann
Bernie Hesse, legislative director of UFCW Local 789, speaks May 27 at Militant Labor Forum at Wellstone Community Center in St. Paul, Minnesota. To his right is chairperson Rebecca Williamson, also a member of Local 789, and former Co-Op miner Bill Estrada.

Many of these workers had worked at Co-Op for years with the same documents.

“This is an important question today when millions of immigrant workers are marching in the streets,” Estrada noted. “The labor movement must take the lead in the fight to demand legislation that grants legalization now, without preconditions, for all immigrant workers. This question poses the very future of unions in all industries.”

Unable to defeat the miners on the picket line or weaken most of their supporters during the strike, Estrada said, the bosses shifted the focus away from the mine and into the courts and prolonged NLRB proceedings. They were able to do so because broader labor action wasn’t strong enough at the time, he said.

“The fight led by the miners at Co-Op opened a window to more opportunities for union organizing in western coal that could have gone further with the support of a stronger, broader labor movement. This will come and is one of the lessons we need to draw from our fight,” Estrada said.

“Many workers see the settlement and the dropping of the lawsuit as their own victory,” Estrada added. “We can use it to push forward the fight for legalization.

It will mark further fights for union organizing in Utah. And it puts us in a stronger position to support other struggles that will break out.”

Estrada invited those present to attend a victory celebration the former Co-Op miners are organizing at the UMWA District 22 hall in Price, Utah, on June 4.

The audience of 40 included meat packers, rail workers, immigrant rights activists, and students. Pablo Tapia, a leader of the immigrant rights organization ISIAH, and Dave Riehle, an officer of the United Transportation Union, took part. Those present responded to a fund pitch by donating more than \$600 to the Militant Fighting Fund. The fund was established to raise money for the *Militant’s* legal defense and for publicizing the stakes for all labor in beating back a lawsuit that was trying to shut up unionists and newspapers that report on and champion their cause.

❖
‘We won every round of Co-Op fight’

BY MICHAEL ITALIE
NEW YORK—The Militant Labor Forum here May 26 featured Alyson
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Spring ‘Militant’ Subscription Drive			
April 8 – June 7, 2006			
Week 7 of 8			
Country	Quota	Sold	%
NEW ZEALAND			
Christchurch	20	20	100%
Auckland	35	32	91%
N.Z. Total	55	52	95%
UNITED KINGDOM			
Edinburgh	30	30	100%
London*	65	57	88%
UK Total	95	87	92%
CANADA	120	103	86%
UNITED STATES			
Amherst, MA	6	6	100%
Des Moines	205	198	97%
Twin Cities	200	190	95%
Washington, DC	95	89	94%
Seattle	145	132	91%
Miami	160	142	89%
New York	325	290	89%
Albany, NY	15	13	87%
Birmingham	105	90	86%
Boston	85	73	86%
Los Angeles	170	144	85%
Newark	165	140	85%
San Francisco	110	89	81%
Atlanta	90	72	80%
Chicago	100	78	78%
Houston	140	103	74%
Philadelphia	130	94	72%
Pittsburgh	60	41	68%
Tampa	15	10	67%
Price	65	39	60%
Detroit	20	5	25%
U.S. Total	2406	2038	85%
SWEDEN	35	29	83%
ICELAND	17	14	82%
AUSTRALIA	45	36	80%
Int’l totals	2773	2359	79%
Goal/Should be	3000	2625	88%
*increased quota			

Continued from front page
from Harlan.

“‘Unionize the mines! I’ve got to have one of those papers,’ Jason Harrison, 32, a member of the Communications Workers of America, told us. His union went on strike three years ago against AllTell Kentucky. ‘We didn’t win anything,’ Harrison said, ‘but we kept our dignity. That’s important.’

“‘Is this that paper?’ asked Martha Swanson, holding out \$3, after word had spread in the small mining towns here about the issue with the banner headline ‘Unionize the mines! Build the UMWA!’ being sold here. ‘I want three copies.’ Swanson said her husband is a retired miner and her son-in-law works at the nearby Cumberland Mine. ‘It’s criminal what happened to those miners,’ she said. ‘Someone should go to jail for this.’”

Militant readers from Des Moines, Iowa, and St. Paul, Minnesota, met and sold the paper together in Albert Lea, Austin, and Faribault—all towns in Minnesota with large concentrations of meatpacking workers—during the Memorial Day weekend, reported Frank Forrestal, a *Militant* supporter in

Des Moines. “We netted 31 new readers,” he said. “Joe Swanson, also from Des Moines, reported that a door-to-door team he was part of the same weekend at coal mining towns in southern Illinois signed up another six subscribers.”

During a similar visit to Kearny, Arizona, near the Asarco copper mine that workers struck last year, *Militant* supporters sold 7 subscriptions and 24 copies, most of them at the entrance to the mine, said Naomi Craine, a garment worker in Los Angeles.

Similar teams are fanning out to U.S. coalfields this week—from Alabama, to Kentucky, West Virginia, and Utah.

Join one of them by contacting our distributor nearest you or the *Militant* directly (see directory on page 8 or contact information on page 2). Or order a bundle to sell subscriptions in your area. You can also order last week’s issue at the special price of 20 cents per copy, and sell both together till June 14, when the next issue will be published. Take the *Militant* everywhere you go and introduce it to co-workers, family, and friends.

Working people need it.
Sincerely,
Argiris Malapanis, Editor

Special offer with a ‘Militant’ sub

Cuba & Coming American Revolution

by Jack Barnes \$5 (instead of \$13)

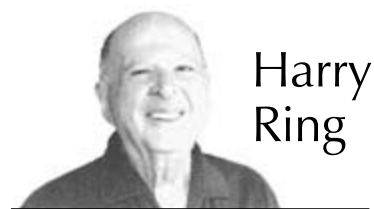
Working Class & Transformation of Learning

by Jack Barnes \$1 (instead of \$3)

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\$90,000 ‘Militant’ Fund Drive			
April 15–June 7 ♦ Week 6 of 7			
Country	Quota	Paid	%
ICELAND	200	400	177%
CANADA*	2,500	2,529	101%
NEW ZEALAND			
Christchurch*	885	908	103%
Auckland	1,500	1,431	95%
N.Z. Total	2,385	2,339	98%
AUSTRALIA*	1,200	1,110	93%
UNITED STATES			
Tampa	300	375	125%
Atlanta*	4,500	4,855	108%
San Francisco	8,500	9,130	107%
Birmingham*	2,000	2,086	104%
Albany	100	100	100%
Price	1,000	990	99%
New York	12,000	11,620	97%
Chicago	5,500	5,124	93%
Los Angeles	8,500	7,796	92%
Miami*	2,400	2,178	91%
Washington, DC	2,500	2,118	85%
Newark	3,500	2,905	83%
Des Moines*	2,100	1,734	83%
Boston*	3,550	2,730	77%
Philadelphia	3,200	2,448	77%
Seattle	8,000	6,053	76%
Houston*	3,500	2,570	73%
Twin Cities	4,800	3,445	72%
Pittsburgh*	4,200	2,855	68%
Other		1,590	
U.S. Total	80,150	72,702	91%
FRANCE	250	213	85%
UNITED KINGDOM			
Edinburgh	600	480	80%
London	1,200	1,053	88%
UK	1,800	1,533	85%
SWEDEN	640	510	80%
Int’l totals	89,125	81,336	90%
Goal/Should be	90,000	77,142	86%
*increased quota			

Sock it to them—South Korean protesters massed in the capital city of Seoul to thwart U.S. military forces from relo-



Harry Ring

cating their headquarters to a site that would demolish several villages and drive nearby farmers from their land. South Korean cops put the demonstrators at some 6,000. A U.S. wire

service reported that the angry demonstrators numbered in the “thousands.”

Ambulance chasers doing well—“LONDON —Thousands of miners with chronic chest disease have been paid less than £100 (US\$176) in compensation under a programme that earned their solicitors [lawyers] 20 times as much per case.”—*The Times*, London.

Bienvenidos!—“A Data-Quick Information Systems analysis of deeds and county assessment data shows a dramatic

rise in the number of Hispanic and Asian home buyers since 2000.”—News item.

Seems a bit like capitalism—“Anchorage, Alaska—Maggie the elephant is not taking to her treadmill just yet. Alaska Zoo employees have been trying to coax the 8,000-pound elephant onto the \$100,000 custom-made machine. So far she's more interested in the treats she gets for trying to use it. It may take months to get Maggie fully on board.”

Urban removal—“Wilmington, Delaware—Mayor James

Baker helped cut the ribbon at the first high-rise housing development on the riverfront. The residences at Christina Landing have about 170 rental units, ranging in price from \$1,300 to \$2,800 a month. Baker said government and business were working together to revitalize the area.”—News item.

Read it, retch, and rebel—“Lebanon, Pennsylvania—A couple pleaded guilty to abusing and neglecting residents of five personal-care homes they operated in Lebanon County.” They “face possible prison time when

sentenced in June. Prosecutors alleged that home residents were fed rotten food and put to work stuffing inserts into newspapers while sitting in an unheated garage”—*USA Today*.

From a lofty perch—Harvard law professor Elizabeth Warren sees housing as key to the high cost of living. She is cited in several spots, including the Charlottesville, Virginia, *Daily Progress*. She advises a condo for those who can't afford a house; limit a family to one car; get a second job; and move to a less expensive school district.

Senate passes safety bill after Kentucky miners' deaths

Continued from front page carbon monoxide poisoning after running out of air. Similarly, 11 of the 12 miners killed in January at the Sago Mine in West Virginia survived a blast but died from toxic gases after being trapped in the mine for 40 hours.

Paul Ledford, the only survivor of the May 20 disaster, said that his self-rescuer, which provides oxygen in case of emergency, stopped working after five minutes. And Randal McCloy, the only miner to survive the Sago Mine blast, has said that four of the air packs miners were carrying there failed.

The Senate bill would also require regular testing of the self-rescuers. “You can't really test them until you use them,” Mack Williams, 22, who worked as a roof bolter in the Kentucky Darby Mine until he was laid off two months ago, told the *Militant*. Williams explained that the self-rescuers do not actually contain air but chemicals that when activated produce oxygen. “So you don't know if it works until it works,” he said.

Investigators have initially concluded that the Darby explosion started in a sealed-off section of the mine. Three of the seals closing off this portion were blown out, state officials told the press. Federal mine safety officials have refused to enter the mine until the seals are repaired. State mine inspectors who had entered the mine have also withdrawn in light of the stance of the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA).

Until the 1990s seals were built of concrete blocks. MSHA has recently allowed mine owners to use a foam-type substance called Omega Block. These blocks are cheaper than concrete, lighter, and can be easily lifted by one person, allowing smaller crews to construct seals. Rescuers at the Darby mine reported these blocks did not withstand the blast, said a May 25 AP dispatch.

The recent spike in deaths in the mines coincides with a boom in demand for energy. Coal from Appalachia now sells for \$64 a ton, three times its price three years ago. The Energy Information Administration said Appalachian coal production increased 2 percent last year. While hiring is up, “mining companies have been pushing to increase production, adding overnight and weekend shifts and generating more overtime hours for miners,” the Associated Press reported.

Mine bosses hired an additional 2,000 miners over the past two years in Kentucky and 3,000 in West Virginia. According to the Kentucky Department

for Workforce Development, miners in that state work an average of 49.5 hours a week, which means some work 60 hours or more. Kentucky miners earn an average of \$18.35 an hour.

As the coal bosses' profits have increased, so have the number of deaths in the mines—33 since January 1 compared to 22 for all of 2005—as the *Militant* reported last week (see “Bosses' profit greed kills six Kentucky miners”).

Attorney Oppegard sent a letter on May 29 on behalf of two of the miners' widows, Priscilla Petra and Mary Middleton, requesting to be allowed to sit in on the investigation of the mine blast. According to the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, Oppegard wrote, “Mrs. Petra and Mrs. Middleton believe that they—more than anyone else—have the right to know as soon as possible exactly what happened to cause the deaths of their husbands.”

The letter was also signed by Kenny Johnson, a UMW safety official, as a representative of the two women.

Investigators have subpoenaed some two dozen witnesses for questioning. Chuck Wolfe, a spokesman for Kentucky's Environmental and Public Protection Cabinet, confirmed that the miners' families will not be allowed to sit in on the inquiry. He added that

neither would company officials.

Oppegard disagreed, noting that company attorneys could represent some of those subpoenaed, essentially giving the owners a presence, which is being denied to the miners' families.

The miners killed at the Kentucky Darby Mine No. 1 were Paris Thomas, Amon Brock, Jimmy Lee, Roy Middleton, and George Petra. One of their co-workers, Paul Ledford, survived.

A sixth Kentucky miner, Steven Bryant, died on the job at the Risner Branch No. 2 mine in Rousseau, Breathitt County. A water truck he was driving on the surface reportedly overturned and fatally crushed him May 23.

The next day, coal miner Todd Upton, 34, was killed while operating heavy equipment inside the Sycamore No. 2 mine in Jarvisville, West Virginia. Upton was struck on the head by a wooden plank while operating a scoop near the mine entrance, reported

the *Pittsburgh Post-Gazette*. He had worked as a miner for less than a year. The mine is owned by the International Coal Group, which also owns Sago just 56 miles away.

The Sycamore mine has been cited by MSHA for safety violations 49 times since January. These included failure to have proper guards on machinery and excessive amounts of coal dust. The company has been fined \$4,494 for such infractions since 2005 but has paid only \$1,520, reported the Associated Press.

For further reading

Changing Face of U.S. Politics

Working-Class Politics and the Trade Unions
by Jack Barnes

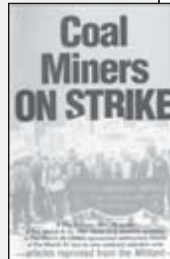
“The workers must have veto power on questions of safety. They should insist that production be shut down at once on demand of the workers and at no loss in pay whenever safety of personnel is at stake. All safety controls and the speed of the production line must be set by the workers themselves.” Also available in French, Greek, and Spanish. \$23

Coal Miners on Strike

by Nancy Cole and Andy Rose

Lessons from the 111-day 1977–78 coal strike led by the United Mine Workers of America, the fight for health benefits, and compensation for black lung victims. \$5

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25, 50, AND 75 YEARS AGO



June 12, 1981

The Reagan administration is moving to strengthen the hand of South Africa's apartheid regime in southern Africa, and to block the South African colony of Namibia from attaining genuine independence. It is also moving to increase military and other pressures against Angola.

A recently-released memorandum, dated February 7 and endorsed by Secretary of State Alexander Haig and the White House, purports to make the independence for Namibia contingent on the withdrawal of Cuban troops from Angola and the admission of pro-South African guerrilla leaders into the Angolan government.

The independence scheme is a fake. South Africa's racist regime is carrying out a bloody war aimed at suppressing the Southwest Africa People's Organization (SWAPO). SWAPO has the support of the great majority of the people in its fight for genuine independence.



June 11, 1956

The now-revealed text of Nikita S. Khrushchev's secret speech to the 20th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union exposes Stalin's regime as the most brutal in all history and, at the same time, serves to undermine the rule of Khrushchev and the other leaders of the Kremlin bureaucracy who succeeded Stalin.

Well over half of the six-hour speech deals with the terror and frame-up system Stalin used to destroy first the Trotskyists and then all other opposition in what had once been the democratically-run party of Lenin.

To those, who for the past 20 years have defended the Moscow Trials with the argument, “They confessed their guilt, didn't they?” and to the puzzled, who wondered aloud, “Why did they confess?” Khrushchev at last and officially gave the true answer. “Confessions of guilt,” he admitted, “were gained with the help of cruel and inhumane tortures.”



June 1, 1931

Five hundred and ninety-seven army air machines soar over New York City in impressive war maneuvers, forming a spectacle which fascinated and thrilled thousands of onlookers. These maneuvers, in the words of chief of staff General MacArthur, “are not a ‘circus’ but a test of preparedness of the air branch of warfare.” (*N.Y. Times*, May 25, 1931). This air drill over the skyscrapers of N.Y. involving some six hundred planes and more than fourteen hundred men, cost the U.S. government the princely sum of \$2,000,000. Aeroplanes are the instruments of the next war. The nations of the world realize this. In not one of their disarmament conferences, where the capitalist governments haggle and wrangle over the scrapping of obsolete and antiquated battleships, will they tolerate for a single moment the question of the reduction of air forces.

Librarians answer smear campaign against Cuban gov't

BY JONATHAN SILBERMAN

HAVANA—With their sights set on the upcoming American Library Association conference in New Orleans and the convention of the International Federation of Library Associations, opponents of the Cuban Revolution are seeking to breathe new life into a campaign in support of bogus “independent libraries” in Cuba. Librarians in Cuba and elsewhere, however, are answering this smear campaign.

The propaganda campaign, backed by Washington, falsely claims that the Cuban government bans books available in other countries—including works by Mark Twain, George Orwell, and Cubans abroad who do not support the revolution.

The U.S.-based “Friends of Cuban Libraries” and its spokesperson Robert Kent, who works for the New York Public Library, have made sensational accusations that the Cuban police routinely

seize such books and arrest and beat up those seeking to make them available through “independent libraries.”

At the January 22 midwinter meeting of the American Library Association (ALA), held in San Antonio, Texas, featured speaker Andrei Codrescu, a Romanian-born poet and commentator on National Public Radio, launched an attack on Cuba, describing it as “the Romania of my growing up.” He called on the ALA to condemn the revolutionary government for supposedly banning books and imprisoning librarians.

The ALA has so far rejected calls to support the “independent librarians” in Cuba, as have other major librarian organizations internationally. At last year’s congress of the International Federation of Library Associations (IFLA) in Oslo, Norway, the propaganda campaign failed to win enough support to pass any motions condemn-



Militant photos by Jonathan Silberman

February 6 meeting in Havana of Third World Caucus of International Federation of Library Associations. Seated at table from left, Aristides Medina, director of Venezuela’s National Library; Nguyen Van Quan, from Vietnam embassy; Phouangkeo Langsy, Laotian ambassador to Cuba; Marta Terry, former president of the Cuban Librarians Association; Eliades Acosta, director of Cuba’s José Martí National Library; and Shaharuddin Onn, from the Malaysian embassy in Havana. Inset, crowd at Havana International Book Fair that same month.



ing the Cuban government.

Librarians who oppose the propaganda campaign have pointed out that the “independent librarians” are, in fact, members of small political groups, financed by Washington, that oppose the Cuban Revolution. Robert Kent’s “Friends of Cuban Libraries” has received money from Freedom

House, which is funded by the U.S. government.

“They are neither libraries nor independent,” Eliades Acosta, director of Cuba’s José Martí National Library, noted in a recent broadcast of the Cuban “Roundtable” TV program.

Promoters of the anti-Cuba cam-

Continued on next page

Lenin: ‘Immigration unites workers from all countries’

We are reprinting below Bolshevik leader Vladimir I. Lenin’s article “Capitalism and Workers’ Immigration” published in Lenin Collected Works, Volume 19, by Progress Publishers. In this article, written in 1913, Lenin explains the progressive character of the immigration of workers into the imperialist centers. He points to the potential that this poses for strengthening the working class by internationalizing its composition and class-struggle experience.

BY V. I. LENIN

Capitalism has given rise to a special form of migration of nations. The rapidly developing industrial countries, introducing machinery on a large scale and ousting the backward countries from the world market, raise wages at home above the average rate and thus attract workers from the backward countries.

Hundreds of thousands of workers thus wander hundreds and thousands of versts. Advanced capitalism drags them forcibly into its orbit, tears them out of the backwoods in which they live, makes them participants in the world-historical movement, and brings them face to face with the powerful, united, international class of factory owners.

There can be no doubt that dire poverty alone compels people to abandon their native land, and that the capitalists exploit the immigrant workers in a most shameless manner. But only reactionaries can shut their eyes to the progressive significance of this modern migration of nations. Emancipation from the yoke of capital is impossible without the further development of capitalism, and without the class struggle that is based on it. And it is into this struggle that capitalism is drawing the masses of the working people of the whole world, breaking down the musty, fusty, habits of local life, breaking down national barriers and prejudices, uniting workers from all countries in huge factories and mines

in America, Germany, and so forth.

America heads the list of countries which import workers. The following are the immigration figures for America:

Ten years	1821-30.....	99,000
“	1831-40.....	496,000
“	1841-50.....	1,597,000
“	1851-60.....	2,453,000
“	1861-70.....	2,064,000
“	1871-80.....	2,262,000
“	1881-90.....	4,722,000
“	1891-1900...	3,703,000
Nine “	1901-09.....	7,210,000

The growth of immigration is enormous and continues to increase. During the five years 1905–09 the average number of immigrants entering America (the United States alone is referred to) was over a million a year.

It is interesting to note the change in the place of origin of those emigrating to America. Up to 1880 the so-called old immigration prevailed, that is, immigration from the old civilised countries, such as Great Britain, Germany, and partly from Sweden. Even up to 1890, Great Britain and Germany provided more than half the total immigrants.

From 1880 onwards, there was an incredibly rapid increase in what is called the new immigration from Eastern and Southern Europe, from Austria, Italy and Russia. The number of people emigrating from these three countries to the United States was as follows:

Ten years	1871-80.....	201,000
“	1881-90.....	927,000
“	1891-1900...	1,847,000
Nine “	1901-09.....	5,127,000

Thus, the most backwards countries in the old world, those that more than any other retain survivals of feudalism in every branch of social life, are, as it were, undergoing compulsory training in civilisation. American capitalism is tearing millions of workers of backward Eastern Europe (including Russia, which in 1891–1900 provided

594,000 immigrants and in 1900–1909, 1,410,000) out of their semifeudal conditions and is putting them in the ranks of the advanced, international army of the proletariat.

Hourwich, the author of an extremely illuminating book, *Immigration and Labour*, which appeared in English last year, makes some interesting observations. The number of people emigrating to America grew particularly after the 1905 Revolution (1905—1,000,000; 1906—1,200,000; 1907—1,400,000; 1908 and 1909—1,900,000 respectively). Workers who had participated in various strikes in Russia introduced into America the bolder and more aggressive spirit of the mass strike.

Russia is lagging farther and farther behind, losing some of her best workers to foreign countries; America is advancing more and more rapidly, taking the most vigorous and able-bodied sections of the working population of the whole world.*

Germany, which is more or less keeping pace with the United States, is changing from a country which released workers into one that attracts them from foreign countries. The number of immigrants from Germany to America in the ten years 1881–90 was 1,453,000; but in the nine years 1901–09 it dropped to 310,000. The number of foreign workers in Germany, however, was 695,000 in 1910–11 and 729,000 in 1911–12. Dividing these immigrants according to occupation and country of origin we get the following:

Foreign workers employed in Germany in 1911–12 (thousands)			
	Agriculture	Industry	Total
From Russia.....	274	34	308
Austria.....	101	162	263
other countries...	22	135	157
Total.....	397	331	728

The more backward the country the larger is the number of “unskilled” agricultural labourers it supplies. The

advance nations seize, as it were, the best paid occupations for themselves and leave the semi-barbarian countries the worst paid occupations. Europe in general (“other countries”) provide Germany with 157,000 workers, of whom more than eight-tenths (135,000 out of 157,000) were industrial workers. Backwards Austria provided only six-tenths (162,000 out of 263,000) of the industrial workers. The most backward country of all, Russia, provided only one-tenth of the industrial workers (34,000 out of 308,000).

Thus, Russia is punished everywhere and in everything for her backwardness. But compared with the rest of the population, it is the workers of Russia who are more than any others bursting out of this state of backwardness and barbarism, more than any others combating these “delightful” features of their native land, and more closely than any others uniting with the workers of all countries into a single international force for emancipation.

The bourgeoisie, incites the workers of one nation against those of another in the endeavour to keep them disunited. Class-conscious workers, realising that the break-down of all the national barriers by capitalism is inevitable and progressive are trying to help to enlighten and organise their fellow-workers from the backward countries.

*Other countries on the American Continent besides the United States are also rapidly advancing. The number of immigrants entering the United States** last year was about 250,000, Brazil about 170,000 and Canada over 200,000; total 620,000 for the year.

[**According to U.S. government statistics, 838,172 immigrants entered the United States in 1912. It seems that Lenin meant 250,000 immigrants entered Argentina that year.

—Militant editor]

Senate immigration bill

Continued from front page

majority leader John Boehner told the media, commenting on the prospects of a joint bill. “I don’t underestimate the difficulty of the House and Senate trying to come together in an agreement.”

The Senate bill would provide 200,000 temporary “guest worker” visas a year. It would also make eligible another 1.5 million immigrants for a special guest worker program in agriculture.

The limit on employment-based green cards, granting legal permanent residency, would be set at 650,000 a year, to include workers and their family members. This is an increase from the current cap of 140,000, which does not include family members.

Three categories of undocumented

In relation to the 12 million undocumented currently living in the United States, the Senate bill divides them into three separate categories. Those who can prove they have been living in the country for five or more years—about 7 million people—would be granted residency after working as temporaries for another six years. They would then have to pass government background checks; pay at least \$3,250 in fines, fees, and back taxes; pass an English proficiency test; and maintain their employment, effectively tying their status to their bosses.

Those in the United States from two to five years—about 3 million people—would be required to temporarily return

to another country to apply for a work visa, enabling them to come back as guest workers.

Undocumented workers who have lived here less than two years—an estimated 2 million immigrants—would be ordered to leave the country.

In addition, undocumented immigrants convicted of a felony or three misdemeanors, no matter how long they have been living in the United States, could be deported. One provision of the Senate bill would set automatic grounds for removal from the country of immigrants who carry fraudulent documents, reported a May 26 *Washington Post* article.

At a May 25 news conference, Sen. John McCain hailed the passage of the Senate bill. A Republican from Arizona, McCain was the main sponsor of the measure along with Sen. Edward Kennedy, a Democrat. McCain said he had a message “to those who would cross our border illegally. We are going to close our border. We will make it impossible to cross our border. That’s our first and most important priority.”

Tightening border with Mexico

The Senate bill authorizes construction of 370 miles of triple-layer fencing along the 2,000-mile U.S.-Mexico border, along with 500 miles of vehicle barriers. It adds 14,000 cops to the current Border Patrol force of 11,300 over the next five years.

The 6,000 National Guard troops that President Bush ordered to the border to



Militant/Carlos Sánchez

Some 30,000 people rallied April 9 for immigrant rights in St. Paul, Minnesota.

assist in policing operations will begin arriving in early June, with about 800 soldiers being readied for duty. The Senate backed 21-day rotational stints, which over the course of a year will involve 100,000 National Guard troops.

The Senate legislation authorizes additional prison facilities for those being held for deportation. “The bill also would give Border Patrol officers new powers to jail and deport, without a judge’s review, immigrants suspected of having recently crossed into the country illegally,” the *Post* reported. Homeland Security Secretary Michael Chertoff is seeking a “systematic upgrading of the technology used in controlling the border,” reported the May 22 *Defense News*, a Pentagon publication. This is to include “increased manned aerial assets, expanded use of unmanned aerial vehicles, and next-generation detection technology,” he said. Chertoff “envisions building a ‘virtual fence’ that

stretches 6,000 miles along the Mexican and Canadian borders” that he hopes will be in place by 2012, according to the *Defense News*.

The Senate proposal requires use of a new federal database to screen immigrant workers’ identity and job eligibility. Under this system, which is to be in place within 18 months, Social Security numbers and the immigration status of newly hired workers must be submitted electronically to the Department of Homeland Security for verification within three days.

Reactions to Senate bill

Leaders of immigrant rights groups reacted differently to the Senate bill.

“This bill is not exactly what we expected. It divides the families and is too expensive for the immigrant community,” Martín Unzueta, organizer of the Chicago Workers Collaborative center and member of the March 10 Coalition, told the *Militant* in a May 30 phone interview. Stationing the National Guard on the Mexican border “is a mistake,” Unzueta said. “You can’t avoid people coming. All immigrants should have rights in the United States. Those who have been here two to three years won’t leave.”

Juan José Gutiérrez, a leader of Latino Movement USA in Los Angeles, told the *Militant* May 30 that the bill is “an historic achievement.”

Cecilio Santillana, 78, who worked in the Bracero “guest worker” Program from 1948 to 1964 said he opposes the Senate bill “because they may do to the new workers what they did to us. We suffered a lot. We had very bad housing, and we worked 10 to 12 hours a day with no breaks or days off.” Santillana is a member of Voluntarios de la Comunidad (Community Volunteers), which organized the May 1 protest of 100,000 in San Jose, California, for immigrant rights. He added, “We should legalize all the working people here and give them work.”

Immigrant rights organizations are building a national day of protest July 8 in Los Angeles, New York, Atlanta, Chicago, and many other cities, Jesse Díaz, a leader of the L.A. March 25 Coalition, told the *Militant* in a May 31 phone interview. “The actions are being called to oppose the immigration bills before both the Senate and House and to demand: full legalization of all 12 million undocumented workers, no guest worker program, no militarization of the border, and immediately ceasing the displacement of families,” he said. The actions are being initiated by a newly formed International Coalition for Liberty and Justice, Díaz said. More information can be obtained at www.March25coalition.org.

Gerardo Sánchez and Betsey Stone in San Francisco contributed to this article.

Librarians rebut anti-Cuba campaign

Continued from page 6

paign have had a hard time proving their charge that the Cuban government “considers books a powerful enemy,” to quote Ramón Colás, the self-proclaimed founder of the “independent libraries” effort, now living in Miami.

In Colás’s home town of Las Tunas, the “independent” libraries “have not been able to recruit a single librarian or win over library users as they had hoped,” said librarian Carmen Velásquez Quintana. She was interviewed in the March 3 issue of *Librinsula*, the online magazine of Cuba’s National Library.

In Las Tunas, a city of 186,000 inhabitants, more than 86,000 people used the provincial library last year, Velásquez reported, checking out some 234,000 books. The provincial library also has a network of 113 “minilibraries,” 44 neighborhood “home libraries,” and 3 prison libraries across the province.

In an interview in the April 21 *Librinsula*, Argentine librarian Silvia Fois reports on her recent trip across Cuba visiting the public library system. “What moved me was finding so many people [using the libraries]—children, teenagers, youth, housewives, the elderly. Moreover, they’re truly cultural centers, with displays, exhibitions, workshops, courses. In other words, you can feel the community participation in them.”

Fois reported, “I found literature of the most diverse genres and authors.... Orwell, Martin Luther King, Octavio Paz, Cabrera Infante, Vargas Llosa.” Guillermo Cabrera Infante, a well-known Cuban author, was a long-time exiled opponent of the revolution; Octavio Paz of Mexico and Mario Vargas

Llosa of Peru are prominent writers with anticommunist views.

A visit to an ‘independent library’

Fois contrasts this experience with her visit to one of the so-called independent libraries in Havana. “Arriving at the address, I found a house with no indication that it might be a library, and the person who greeted me didn’t understand what I was looking for. Then, when ‘the penny dropped,’ she invited me in and explained that there was a library there but it was run by her parents, who were now in Miami.

“She asked me not to speak in front of her guests—they were celebrating her birthday—because, according to her, ‘in Cuba you can’t talk to just anyone about censorship.’ [She] finally showed me ‘the library’: a three-shelf stand in the kitchen-dining room, with one shelf full of Bibles. I didn’t see a single title that was not available in other Cuban libraries.”

Discredited by the exposure of such facts, proponents of the “independent libraries” are seeking to revive their campaign.

On December 14 the Spanish daily *El País* published an article by Theresa Bond, later reprinted in the *Le Monde* of Paris, in *Il Diario* of Milan and *Dagens Nyheter* in Stockholm, alleging the creation of “clandestine libraries” in Cuban prisons.

In February, the Czech embassy in Sweden sponsored a conference in Stockholm on “democratic change in Cuba” together with representatives of the Swedish Liberal and Social Democratic parties. Ramón Colás was a featured speaker.

How FBI disrupted campaign of socialist candidates

Below is an excerpt from Cointelpro: The FBI's Secret War on Political Freedom, one of Pathfinder's Books of the Month for June. It provides an in-depth look at the covert and illegal FBI counterintelligence program code-named Cointelpro. Much of what is known about this decades-long political disruption program is the result of evidence forced to light through a 1973 lawsuit brought by the Socialist Workers Party and Young Socialist Alliance against FBI spying, harass-

BOOKS OF THE MONTH

ment, and disruption. The suit was settled 13 years later when a federal judge ruled in favor of the SWP and YSA. Copyright © 1975 by Pathfinder Press. Reprinted by permission.

BY NELSON BLACKSTOCK

In the early 1960s the witch-hunt that had dominated American politics during the 1950s was giving way to a greater openness to radical ideas. Socialists began winning a place on the ballot—and were more and more



Judy White speaks during 1966 campaign as Socialist Workers Party candidate for governor of New York. FBI planted media report she was too young to hold office.

being treated as legitimate candidates with a particular point of view. The FBI decided that they had a problem. Cointelpro was their solution.

The Cointelpro plot to disrupt socialist election campaigns was concocted not because of any illegal activities by the SWP, but because, as J. Edgar Hoover said, socialist candidates were “openly” talking to people about their ideas.

The documents at the end of this chapter show that the FBI attempted to wreck the 1961 campaign of a Black socialist for Manhattan borough president, waged a sustained drive against Clifton DeBerry, the SWP's 1964 presidential candidate, tried to get socialists excluded from supporting an independent Black candidate in San Francisco in 1964, and incited an attack on Fred Halstead when he was the SWP presidential candidate in 1968.

These actions are only part of the re-

cord of FBI sabotage against socialist candidates. And there are operations that remain hidden in files the FBI is refusing to disclose.

One Cointelpro operation that has come to light through the socialists' suit concerns the 1966 campaign of Judy White for governor of New York. This was during the period when the antiwar movement was beginning to have a major impact on the thinking of the American people. White was a leader of the antiwar movement.

A broad layer of opponents of the war—including many radicals who were not particularly close to the SWP—had endorsed White as the only antiwar candidate in the race.

Campaign supporters worked hard to get the signatures necessary to obtain ballot status, which brought a significant amount of attention from the media.

The FBI looked for a way to sabotage this campaign. They noticed that

according to New York law White was formally not old enough to hold the office of governor. The FBI tried to get this fact reported in the media in an attempt to discredit the campaign.

According to the documents, the FBI decided to rely on the *Daily News* to do the job for them, but the New York City CBS television affiliate did it instead. A copy of the transcript of the editorial broadcast by the station immediately following the election is reproduced in the files.

White recently read the Cointelpro papers relating to her campaign. “It was the CBS editorial that started the whole controversy that led to the passage of what was called the ‘anti-Judy White law,’” she recalled.

As the documents show, the state legislature soon passed a law altering the election code to require that a candidate be old enough to assume an office in order to run for it.

“Even before the election, CBS was making effective use of the charge that I wasn't ‘old enough.’ I'm sure the FBI must have planted this idea,” White said.

“We were getting many hours of broadcast time, which was uncommon then. But a few days before the elections it abruptly stopped.”

“I was scheduled to go on CBS with the other candidates for governor on a special one-hour program. Suddenly, CBS informed us that my appearance was canceled. They said I was not a legally qualified candidate because of my age.”

Of course, White was legally qualified to run for office; that was why the law was changed. Today people under thirty are legally ineligible to run for governor of New York.

These documents indicate that the FBI may have been responsible for getting this legislation on the books.

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A UMWA local at every mine!

Continued from front page

state “regulatory” agencies, we are told, and go to the polls in November, instead of relying on workers’ collective power and organization.

There are plenty of rules and regulations on the books. Companies like the International Coal Group or Kentucky Darby LLC violate them all the time, getting a wink from agencies such as the federal Mine Safety and Health Administration (MSHA) for doing so, or tiny fines they often don’t even bother to pay.

With a UMWA safety committee in every mine, coal miners can use union power to stop production if mine roofs are inadequately secured, explosive coal dust levels are high, flammable gases are building up, or defective equipment is not fixed. They can walk off the job if supervisors insist on bypassing safety devices on machinery, like spotters that warn of high methane levels, or using substandard material to seal off unused

sections of the mine. They can organize to inspect their own air safety packs and make sure they work properly, and ensure there is an adequate oxygen supply easily accessible underground, before any coal is cut.

“Left to their own profit greed, the coal bosses will never take such measures,” as last week’s editorial said. “With coal prices at record levels, they are stretching out the workweek, cranking up output, and slashing costs. They couldn’t care less about the limbs, lungs—and lives—of workers.” And this applies to most employers and is true worldwide, underscoring the stakes for the labor movement and the working class as a whole.

Many working people know that the admonitions by employers and capitalist politicians about the “inherent dangers” of coal mining or other industrial occupations are a self-serving lie. Let’s act on the basis that not a single miner, or any other worker, has to die. Support all struggles by miners to unionize!

Defend use of pen names, pseudonyms

The case of Ayaan Hirsi Ali, a member of the Dutch parliament, has brought to international attention an important question for the labor movement: the right of individuals fearing retribution from their family, government agencies, or employers to use pseudonyms. Hirsi Ali was stripped of her citizenship for slightly altering her last name on an asylum application when she moved to the Netherlands from Somalia to avoid victimization from her family for fleeing an arranged marriage.

The decision by the conservative Dutch government to restore Hirsi Ali’s citizenship after much public outcry strikes a blow for a right working people hold dear.

In nonunion mines and other workplaces in the United States and elsewhere, workers are often willing to speak out only on condition of anonymity to avoid losing their jobs. Coal miners interviewed about unsafe conditions in Alabama mines, for example, were quoted anonymously in the *Tuscaloosa News* in February because “they would face certain punishment or possible termination if they spoke out publicly against their employers.”

When writing articles to describe a struggle they are involved in, these workers often feel the need to use

pen names, as did coal miners in Utah who fought to unionize the Co-Op mine.

The *Militant* defended this right in response to an article by the *Salt Lake Tribune* in March. That article, by Jennifer Sanchez, attacked a Spanish-language weekly, *Mundo Hispano*, for using pen names, arguing there was no basis to do so “in a democratic society, with guaranteed freedom of the press.” But as the recent harassment lawsuit by C.W. Mining in Utah against the Co-Op miners, United Mine Workers of America, the *Militant*, and other newspapers—including the *Tribune* itself—showed, that’s clearly not true. And the *Tribune* changed its tune. An editor’s note at the beginning of an article by Sanchez herself only a month later read, “To protect the identity of undocumented immigrants, only first names are used in this story.”

The labor movement must defend the right of workers and others to be quoted anonymously or use pseudonyms so they can speak out about dangerous conditions *before* people die on the job. And we must defend the right of pro-labor and other news media to use these practices to protect workers from retribution by the bosses.

Oppose Senate immigration bill

The labor movement should oppose the immigration bill the U.S. Senate has just passed. What’s needed is legislation to grant immediate and unconditional residency to all immigrants. This is what millions of working people have taken to the streets to demand.

The goal of the U.S. rulers—reflected in the Senate bill, as well as in the more ominous measure the House of Representatives passed in December—is to maintain millions of immigrants as pariahs to be superexploited by the capitalist class.

The “guest worker” provision of the Senate bill would allow employers to bring into the country some 1.5 million workers a year as temporaries, largely for farm jobs, whose fate would be tied to the bosses.

To apply for residency undocumented workers would have to jump onerous hurdles: pay hefty fines, pass government background checks, prove they are fluent in English, maintain employment for six years as temporaries—making them dependent on their bosses and thus subject to abuse. Many would have to go abroad to apply. And the measure would mandate the deportation of some 2 million workers. Their crime? Living and working in the U.S. for less than two years.

The Senate bill is similar to the House legislation on tightening the frontier with Mexico. The deployment of thousands of National Guard troops there to back up *la migrá* would also be used to legitimize the use of the military on U.S. soil.

Sen. John McCain, one of the bill’s main architects, said demagogically it will “make it impossible to cross

our border.” But the U.S. rulers have no intention of doing so. Their goal is not to stop the flow of immigrant labor. The U.S. economy depends on that. It would stagnate without the massive coyote operation the employers organize every day. The objective of the ruling capitalists is to make sure millions of workers remain “in the shadows” and can thus be exploited at lower wages and worse conditions—dividing the working class, increasing competition for jobs, and lowering the wages of all.

The Senate “immigration reform” does differ from the House version, registering ruling-class divisions partly due to the mass mobilizations for immigrant rights. While the rulers work on their problems, let’s keep the pressure on, demanding unconditional legalization of all immigrants now!

LETTERS

Robert F. Williams

Thank you for the story on the March 24 Militant Labor Forum in New York on Robert F. Williams (May 22 issue). I am sorry I missed that forum. It’s important to flush out the full story of Williams, going beyond what’s presented in the documentary *Negroes with Guns: Rob Williams and Black Power*.

The film does omit Williams’s activity “in defense of the Cuban Revolution and his collaboration with socialists and others in Black rights and other political struggles,” as the *Militant* article put it.

As the article highlighted, the best source for the history of the Black

rights battles of the 1950s and ’60s—and many other chapters in working-class struggles here and worldwide—is the *Militant*. The quotes from a number of specific articles of that era sure make this tantalizingly clear!

Ray Parsons
Dover Plains, New York

The letters column is an open forum for all viewpoints on subjects of interest to working people. Please keep your letters brief. Where necessary they will be abridged. Please indicate if you prefer that your initials be used rather than your full name.

Co-Op miners

Continued from page 4

Kennedy speaking on “Celebrate Utah miners’ victory in dropping of Co-Op Mine lawsuit!” One of the leaders of the fight to win UMWA representation at Co-Op, Kennedy reviewed the struggle from its start through the campaign that forced the bosses to withdraw their harassment lawsuit.

Militant editor Argiris Malapanis chaired the program. He had returned the day before from a reporting trip to Harlan County, Kentucky, where five miners were killed May 20 (see front-page article). “Our ability to widely sell this issue of the *Militant* and win hundreds of new subscribers among coal miners and other working people will have an impact on the struggle for unionization,” he said. He urged the 75 people present to join *Militant* sales teams in coal mining areas.

“We won every round of the Co-Op fight,” said Kennedy. She explained how the Co-Op miners and their allies had stood off the company and gained ground at each turning point in the union-organizing drive. On Sept. 22, 2003, the company locked out 75 miners. The workers turned the lockout into a strike that gained solidarity in the West and beyond.

“We had won the strike, and the company could not defeat us on the picket line,” said Kennedy. So C.W. Mining filed its harassment suit charging the unionists, their supporters, and newspapers such as the *Salt Lake City Tribune*, *Deseret Morning News*, and the *Militant* with defamation. “The suit had a dampening effect on coverage of our fight for a union in much of the media,” she said, but the *Militant* continued its coverage.

In December 2004, right before the union election, C.W. Mining increased the pressure by amending its suit to add charges of fraud and racketeering. The company filed seven charges against the union and its backers.

The miners, the UMWA, and the *Militant* newspaper did not back down, they continued to fight this case, said Kennedy. The Militant Fighting Fund won more than 1,000 endorsers, including 26 trade union locals, officers of 10 international unions, and nearly 230 officers of union locals. This kind of resistance contributed to a May 1 ruling by the judge that threw out all charges against the individual miners and dismissed all but the defamation charges against the remaining defendants.

“This decision was very damaging to the mine owners,” said Kennedy. “Their strategy to defeat the miners using the courts was in shambles. They were left with a weak slander case against the *Militant*, the UMWA, and Utah Jobs with Justice, and a strongly worded decision favoring the miners. It showed we had stood off the company once again. The Co-Op owners decided to settle to try to get their business operations going again.”

After Kennedy’s presentation, *Militant* supporter Manuel Sánchez urged all present to give generously to the Militant Fund. “This fund helps pay the rent, travel, and other costs for publishing the paper every week,” said Sánchez, a building maintenance worker and member of Service Employees International Union Local 32BJ. “The *Militant* is an educational paper for workers, and an organizer. It urges workers to join unions and to fight for socialism.” Those present contributed nearly \$2,500.

Kennedy referred to a letter by Bob Butero, director of organizing of UMWA region 4, inviting unions and others to attend the June 4 celebration. “The UMWA cordially invites you to a victory celebration at 1:00 p.m., Sunday, June 4,” the letter said. “After a hard fought battle of nearly three years, with backing from the UMWA, many unions, and other organizations throughout the West, the miners want to celebrate their victory and what was accomplished in this struggle.... The miners will present a Mexican meal of grilled steak, beans, salsas, desserts, and beverages. Hope to see you there!”

Kennedy also spoke May 28 at a forum in Pittsburgh, where \$700 was raised for the Militant Fund, and another in Toronto the next day, held at a United Steelworkers union hall there. Those present in Toronto donated \$947 to the *Militant* fund drive and \$500 to the Militant Fighting Fund.

Paul Mailhot, an organizer of the Militant Fighting Fund, spoke May 27 at a similar forum in Houston. Members of the Prisoners Rights Support Network sent a message to the event, which said, “The Co-Op miners victory is significant to the struggle for all people who believe in peace, respect, dignity on the job, and the right to unionize.”

Steve Warshell from Houston and Robert Simms from Toronto contributed to this article.